Survey

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INTRODUCTION

A. The People

1. Non-Gujuri Speaking Gujurs

There are tens of thousands of people across India and Pakistan who call themselves Gujurs but no longer speak the Gujuri lanugage. These people are the same people group as the Gujuri-speaking Gujurs but have assimilated into the cultures and languages of non-Gujurs. One example of this is the Gujurs living in Gujranwala, Punjab, who have migrated to Pakistan since the partition. These Gujurs speak a language they call Ludhiana Punjabi. Similarly, the Gujurs settled in the district of Gujrat in northern Punjab are speaking a dialect of Punjabi as their first lanugage although they claim to be of the same "tribe" as the Gujuri-speaking Gujurs living in the hilly areas to the north (Hasan 1986). This report deals with the people who speak a language they call Gujuri. I will not cover the Gujurs who no longer speak Gujuri. For the purposes of this report the term Gujur refers to an individual who speaks Gujuri as his first language.

2. Locations

According to the 1971 census of India there are 355,109 people in India who speak a language they call Gujuri. My observation is that the number of Gujuri-speaking Gujurs in Pakistan is not less than 50,000. The Gujurs living in Pakistan are found in large numbers throughout Hazara tehsil. Within Hazara tehsil Gujurs are in the majority near the town of Balakot. An estimated 20,000 Gujurs live in houses perched on hills within the 40 square mile Balakot Union Council area. In Upper Swat valley the Gujurs total about 10,000 as the combined population of the villages of Peshmal, Laikot, and Gabral. This figure

WORD LISTS

A. Extraction of Loan Words

1. Procedural

Before the percentage of cognates could be determined, it was necessary to eliminate any words which the Gujurs have borrowed into their language from the languages of wider communication (LWC). The LWC which have had the most contact with the Gujurs of our survey are Punjabi, Urdu, Hindko, and Pashto. I compared equivalent words from each of these four LWC with each of the four Gujuri word lists. The standard used for determining whether a given Gujuri word is a loan from versus a cognate with a LWC is based on the degree of phonological difference between equivalent words from Gujuri and the LWC in question. I counted as a loan any word in Gujuri whose correspondences with the equivalent LWC word differed by only slight degrees such as retroflexion versus dental and long versus short vowels. The former distinction was especially difficult for me to hear in the usually less than ideal elicitation environments. The latter distinction of long versus short vowels commonly varies in South Asian lanugages even among speakers of the same dialect. For determining whether a given Gujuri word was a cognate with a LWC word I allowed wider phonological variation than for determining a loan word. I was also concerned with correspondence patterns which stood out when the word lists were compared as a whole.

b. Results

Approximately 210 words were compared with each of the four Gujur language varieties from each of the four LWC. The Gujur word list taken in Gujranwala

Gjw) has the highest percentage of LWC loan words at 81%. The other three ujur word lists, here listed in the order of most number of loan words, show he Balakot Gujurs (Blk) with 77%, the Peshmal Gujurs (Psh) with 63%, and the jiri Gujurs (Aj) with 62%. The high percentage of loan words in each of the our varieties needs some explanation. It is interesting that the Gujurs are so pen to accepting words from the LWC. The traditional occupation of Gujurs as dairymen has historically made the Gujurs highly dependent upon and in contact with non-Gujurs. Whether selling milk or grazing their herds the Gujurs have had to maintain positive relations with non-Gujurs.

The largest number of loan words in each of the Gujur varieties are from Punjabi, a fact which could have been predicted because the Gujurs historically migrated from the Punjab. The Gujurs of Peshmal lived in the Punjab before migrating to Upper Swat about 150 years ago. The similarity of the Gujuri and Punjabi languages has probably encouraged the process of borrowing into Gujuri. Sharma (1982) has pointed out that the phonological features which Punjabi and Gujuri have in common may be due to contact. It is possible that some of the words in Gujuri marked as loans from Punjabi are actually historically cognate with Punjabi.

B. Cognate Results

The percentages of cognates which each of the four Gujuri varieties have in common with the other Gujur varities is presented in chart A. The percentages have been derived from comparing the remaining words from each Gujur variety after the LWC loan words were eliminated. From this chart it is clear that the Peshmal Gujuri word list has the highest percentages of cognates with the other three word lists.

Psh

93 Aj

90 79 Blk

53 46 44 Gjw

CHART A: PERCENTAGES OF COGNATES

The chart shows that

The Ajiri and Balakot word lists each have about 90% of their words which are cognate with the Peshmal word list but only have 79% cognate with each other. The Gujuranwala word list has less than 55% cognate with each of the other three word lists.

The sharpest difference in cognate percentages is between Gujranwala and the other three varieties. This correlates with the fact that the Gujurs of Gujranwala are settled on the Punjab plains whereas the other Gujurs are dwelling in the hilly and mountainous areas. Similarly, the Gujranwala Gujurs are recent migrants to the Punjab having come from near Agra and the Jamna river since the partitioning of India whereas the Peshmal, Balakot, and Ajiri Gujurs have been in the hilly tracts of northern Pakistan for at least one hundred years.

Although the Peshmal, Ajiri, and Balakot word lists show more cognates among themselves than with Gujranwala, an explanation is needed for why the Ajiri and Balakot varieties have a lower percentage cognate with each other than they do with the Peshmal word list. One possibility is that the Ajiris have more contact with the Peshmal Gujurs than they do with the Balakot Gujurs. The Ajiri word list was elicited from individuals who often pass through Peshmal and

who dwell in the higher elevations of Upper Swat valley. These Ajiris do not have contact with the Balakot Gujurs so it could be that the Ajiri and Balakot cognate percentage represents a purer measure of dialect distance whereas the Ajiri and Peshmal comparison may be affected by learning.

Dialect Intelligibility Testing

1. Procedures

2. Test Results

a. Peshmal and Balakot

Eight Gujur individuals in Balakot were tested on how well they comprehended a recorded text in the Peshmal Gujuri dialect. Their individual scores on each question is displayed in the appendices to this report (see ???). The overall average for the eight Balakot individuals on ten Peshmal Gujuri questions is 91%. During the actual testing some of the eight individuals made comments that the Peshmal language variety is different from the Balakot variety of Gujuri but that it is understandable to the Balakot Gujurs. The opinion that the Peshmal variety is understood by Balakot Gujurs is supported by the high 91% average on the Peshmal test. The word list comparison between Peshmal and Balakot similarly shows a high 90% of cognates, which presents a strong correlation with the recorded text test.

b. Peshmal and Ajiri

A full dialect intelligibility test was not performed among the Ajiris because only the Peshmal language was recorded at the time I was in contact with the Ajiris in Upper Swat. Therefore testing was performed to measure how well the Ajiris understand the Peshmal variety. Instead of testing a full ten Ajiri individuals I felt it necessary to test only a pilot sample of three Ajiris.

Our rationale was that, since the word list comparison between Peshmal and Ajiri was showing nearly a 95% level of similar vocabulary, a smaller sample of three Ajiri individuals would be sufficient to confirm that they are intelligible dialects. Our three Ajiri individuals each scored 100% on the ten Peshmal questions. One of the Ajiri respondents said that the Peshmal and Ajiri languages are the same and have no differences. Our data indeed shows that Ajiri and Peshmal speak very close dialects of the same language.

:ILINGUALISM

.. Procedures

3. Test Results

. Recorded Text Testing

. Urdu

An Urdu text was tested among 55 Gujur males of Peshmal. The overall average for the test scores is 83% with a standard deviation of ??. The reason for the large standard deviation is due to low scores by uneducated males in the two age groups of 11-19 and 40 or above. Chart ?? groups the scores of the Urdu recorded text test according to age and education level.

	11-19	20-29	30-39	40 OR ABOVE
UNEDU-CATED	100% 100% 100% 80% 70% 70% 60% 60% 60% 20%	100% 100% 90% 90% 90% 90% 80% 70% 70% 70%	100% 100% 100% 100% 80% 80% 80% 70%	100% 90% 80% 80% 70% 70% 70% 70% 70% 50%
	average = 72%	average = 85%	average = 89%	average = 75%
EDU-CATED	100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 90% 90% 90% 80% 80% 80% 40%	100% 100% 90% 90%		

40%

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average = 84

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aver-
age

= 95%

CHART ?: SCORES OF URDU RECORDED TEXT TEST
GROUPED ACCORDING TO EDUCATION AND AGE

The low average of 72% from the 11-19 group of uneducated boys is especially interesting when compared to the average score of 85% from the 20-29 group of uneducated young men. An explanation is needed to account for such an increase in Urdu comprehension as the Peshmal males get older. From our preliminary questionnaire data it is clear that travel outside the N.W.F.P. to Urdu speaking areas within the Punjab is an important factor contributing to the increase in Urdu ability. The four lowest scores among the uneducated 11-19 age group were from individuals who reported never traveling outside the N.W.F.P. Chart ?? shows the scores of the uneducated 11-19 group of individuals divided according to degree of outside travel.

PUNJAB TRAVEL	N.W.F.P.TRAVEL
100%	80%
100%	70%
100%	70%
	60%
	60%
	60%
	20%
average	average
= 87%	= 50%

CHART ?: GROUPED ACCORDING TO
DEGREE OF OUTSIDE TRAVEL

There is a sharp difference in the test score averages according to degree f outside travel. Within the N.W.F.P. there are less opportunities to hear and peak Urdu in comparison to the Punjab. The cities of Rawalpindi and Lahore are he most common locations where the Gujurs visit in the Punjab. Some of the ujur men stay for months in these cities during the cold winter months to earn oney which they will eventually bring back to their families who stay behind. ales below the age of twenty are not yet old enough to go off and work in the ig cities and therefore stay behind and perform family chores. As the young s reach their twenties they begin to travel more in the Punjab and their Urdu bility increases.

Just as the boys under twenty years of age are too young to be laborers in he big cities and are needed for chores at home while their older brothers are way, in the same way the males 40 years of age and above are going to the unjab less and fulfill an important role at home. The 40 or above age group ad the second lowest average test score at 75% although they reported having traveled in the Punjab. It appears that a Gujur individual's amount of travel to the Punjab is on the increase as he nears the age of 20 and is on the crease as he passes the age of 40. This would account for the pattern of our scores for the uneducated individuals.

The educated individual's Urdu ability is obviously increased by the classroom instruction he receives. The level to which Urdu instruction in school has increased the ability of the Gujurs can be determined by examining the test scores. The educated boys between 11-19 years who haven't traveled outside to the Punjab scored an average of 86% on the Urdu recorded text test whereas the uneducated boys between 11-19 years who haven't traveled to the

unjab scored only 50%. Education is the only factor affecting the scores since he travel and age variables are the same for both groups.

. Pashto

The scores for the Gujurs on the Pashto recorded text test are very high nd there is little variation in scoring between age or education groups. Out of 46 people who were examined there were 41 perfect scores of 100%. The emaining five scores consists of two 90% and three 80% scores. The overall verage score of the 46 individuals is a high 98% with a standard deviation of ly 5.

2. Sentence Repetition Testing

a. Urdu

b Pashto

ANGUAGE ATTITUDES : An Analysis of the Lg. Attitude Questionnaire

iUJUR ATTITUDES TOWARD PASHTO

1. Benefits of Speaking Pashto

. Within Peshmal

1. For school

Four of the respondents mentioned school as a domain where Pashto is iseful. The middle school where Peshmal children attend has classes in which Pashto is taught from the first year. Eight of the ten teachers at this school ire Patans who use Pashto as a medium for communicating to their Gujur students. The school itself is located in a village adjacent to Peshmal where the majority of residents are Patans. As a result, many of students at the middle school are Patans. All of these circumstances make Pashto a useful language for the Gujur children to speak at school.

2. With outside visitors

Four respondents said that visitors to Peshmal from other locations made Pashto a useful language to speak. These visitors come from many places both near and far. According to our preliminary questionnaire data, some Gujurs said they speak Pashto daily with Patans living across the river in the village of Ariani. Ariani has a majority Patan population who frequent the small market located in Peshmal.

Another source of Pashto use for the Peshmal Gujurs is with the Kohistani speakers living as a majority in the nearby village of Kalam and as a minority in the previously mentioned village of Ariani. When the Kohistanis visit Peshmal they mainly converse with the Gujurs in Pashto. Finally, the

storeowners of Peshmal have reported that Pashto-speaking salesmen from lower Swat visit Peshmal almost daily to collect merchandise fees from their buyers.

c. For bazaar

The usefulness of Pashto for conversing in the bazaar, although mentioned by only one of the respondents here, is clearly established in the language use part of this section where fourteen of the twenty respondents said they use Pashto in Peshmal's local bazaar while eleven said they speak Pashto in the Kalam bazaar (see part II.B.). In the Peshmal bazaar I have observed Gujur men conversing in Pashto with the Patan storekeepers. I have also observed Gujurs speaking Pashto in the Peshmal bazaar when conversing with a Kohistani speaking individual from Kalam. It is clear that Pashto is the language of preference when Gujurs speak with non-Gujurs in the local bazaar.

2. Outside Peshmal a. For general activity

The benefits for a Gujur to speak Pashto outside of Peshmal are numerous. The respondents said that travel, supplies purchasing, labour, and business activities are areas where Pashto is useful. Four respondents specifically mentioned Mingora (in Lower Swat) and Peshawar as places where Pashto is useful. According to our preliminary questionnaire information nearly half of the Peshmal Gujurs surveyed migrate during the cold winter months to a stretch of land forming a triangle with points in Malakand, Buner, and Peshawar (see Preliminary Questionnaire ?). For these migrating families Pashto is especially useful since Patans form a majority in the lower elevations. As a result, the women of these families are said to be more bilingual in Pashto than the women of families which do not migrate (Nadar 1986). The families that do not migrate during winter nevertheless visit the lower elevations of the N.W.F.P. for various reasons. Our preliminary questionnaire data shows that only three

ercent of the Peshmal Gujurs surveyed have not traveled outside of Peshmal to ower Swat.

. For civil court

Four of the respondents said that Pashto was a useful language to know when involved in court proceedings. The provincial language is Pashto and the dvocates are said to converse with their clients using Pashto as a medium. During the time I was in Peshmal I observed several happenings which required contact with civil courts for the Gujurs there. One of these events involved a l[illegible] dispute in which certain sections of Peshmal were being considered for conversion to state ownership. This has brought protests from the Peshmal residents who are actively involved in the court proceedings. Some of the Gujur leaders are making visits to Mingora as well as attending village council meetings in the Tehsil headquarters at Bahrain. In Peshmal itself the local police are all Patans and communicate with the Gujurs in Pashto. These circumstances have required the Gujurs to depend on Pashto for both local and regional disputes.

B. Intermarriage Attitudes

1. Negative responses

We asked twenty Peshmal Gujurs if the would want there son or daughter to marry a Patan. Regarding having their son marry a Patan girl, fifteen individuals said 'yes' while five answered 'no'. Regarding having their daughter marry a Patan man, thirteen said 'yes' and seven said 'no'. It is interesting that two respondents who said 'yes' to letting their son marry a Patan girl answered that they would not want their daughter to marry a Patan man (compare D.7,D.12 and F.7,F.12). The reason these two respondents gave is that a marriage between their daughter and a Patan would cause travel difficulties

ince Patans live far away. But if their son marries a Patan bride, she would ome to live locally with the groom's family.

Three of the respondents who said they would not want their son to marry a 'atan girl focussed on the language problems the new bride would have living in 'eshmal since the Gujur women do not know Pashto. One individual commented, The Gujur women would not be able to speak with or understand the Patan girl." see D.3.) Evidently the inability of Gujur women to converse in Pashto with 'atan females is a hindrance to intimate relationships between Gujurs and 'atans.

2. Positive responses

The majority of the respondents said they would want their son or daughter :o marry a Patan. Four individuals mentioned that Patans are living locally and nave good relations with the Gujurs. In fact, across the river in Ariani village several families of Patans make up the majority of the population. These responses contrast with the negative responses of other individuals who said that Patans live too far away to intermarry with Peshmal Gujurs. One explanation for this apparent contradiction is that certain individuals may have been thinking of the Patans of the tribal agencies and not the local Patans of Ariani. The administrator of these questionnaires is himself a Patan from the tribal territory whose presence may have suggested to some Gujurs that the questions were referring to distant Patans. In any case, it is interesting to note that both local and distant Patans were mentioned in the responses and that the local Patans are considered acceptable for intermarriage with the Gujurs.

GUJUR ATTITUDES TOWARD URDU

A. Benefits

1. Within Peshmal

a. For school

The chief usefulness of the Urdu language within the village of Peshmal is related to the school domain. The previously mentioned middle school where Gujur children attend teaches Urdu as a required subject from the first year. The ability to read books and write letters was mentioned by two individuals as a benefit of Urdu. This is related to the school domain, but has its practical advantages outside of school since the newspapers and magazines which are brought to Upper Swat are in Urdu.

b. For outside visitors

Two of the respondents mentioned that speaking Urdu is useful for their hotel which they run in Peshmal. The tourist season for upper Swat valley peaks during the summer months when the climate is mild. At this time tourists from the Punjab and Sind daily pass through Peshmal. The Gujurs speak Urdu with the tourists who do not know Pashto. My observation is that the Gujurs have a very restricted contact with the tourists since Peshmal is only a stopping point on the way to the popular tourist spots of Kalam and Ushu. Furthermore, the Gujurs who have the most contact with tourists are the storeowners and hotel workers. These subgroups represent a very small percentage of the total population of Peshmal. As a result, outside visitors to Peshmal do not significantly increase the usefulness of Urdu for the Peshmal Gujurs.

2. Outside Peshmal

It is clear that the chief benefit for most Gujurs of speaking Urdu relates to activities outside of Peshmal and the N.W.F.P. The preliminary questionnaire data shows that 65% of the Gujurs surveyed have traveled inside the Punjab. The cities of Rawalpindi and Lahore are the main places which have been visited for the purpose of selling potatoes being brought from Peshmal by lorry.

)OMAINS OF LANGUAGE USE

1. Pashto

3. Urdu

RAW DATA OF THE Lg. ~~FS~~ Attitude Questionnaire given in Peshmal

I. Language Attitudes

A. What benefit is there for your children to speak Pashto?

1. They will be able to speak with a Patan man.
2. They will be able to speak with a Patan man in school and bazaar.
3. Beneficial for the hotel business because of outside visitors coming here speaking Pashto. Beneficial for any business outside Peshmal because it is with Patans. Beneficial in courts because we have many problems which can only be solved by speaking Pashto since the advocates cannot understand Gujuri.
4. Useful for speaking with outside visitors who are frequently coming to Peshmal.
5. Useful because Pashto is the common language beyond this area.
6. It is the language of N.W.F.P. and is essential for my children's education.
7. Useful because we have our business with people from another area.
8. Useful for the future when my children go beyond this area.
9. Useful for communicating outside Peshmal.
10. Useful for the future when my children go beyond this area.
11. Necessary because we frequently visit Pashto-speaking areas and I want to send my children to Peshawar.
12. Essential for my children when they go to Mingora and Peshawar.
13. Useful outside this area. It is our provincial language.
14. Necessary for speech outside this area. Useful for school.
15. We frequently go outside this area and Pashto is the common language outside this area.
16. Necessary because Gujuri is only spoken in this area but Pashto is the language outside this area.
17. Necessary for my children when they go outside this area to do labour and business.
18. Necessary for the courts in Mingora and all the places beyond this area. It is our provincial language.
19. Useful for business because beyond this area very few people are speaking Gujuri.
20. Useful for courts in Mingora and communicating with the advocate regarding a civil suit. We need to learn it in school.

B. What benefit is there for your children to speak Urdu?

1. Useful for hotel business here in Peshmal, for school, and for visiting Lahore.
2. It is our national language. It is necessary for everybody to learn and speak Urdu.
3. Necessary for communicating with outside visitors to our hotel.
4. It is our national language. Useful for outside travel.
5. Useful for the future when they go outside this area.
6. It is our national language.
7. It is our national language. Useful for speaking to outside visitors.
8. Useful for travel outside N.W.F.P. and for business.

9. Necessary for business outside this area.
10. Useful for outside this area.
11. Useful for travel in Punjab. Useful for potato selling in Lahore.
12. It is the national language. It is also similar to our language.
13. Useful for travel in all of Pakistan. It is a required school subject.
14. Useful for speech in all of Pakistan. Necessary for reading books, and for reading and writing letters.
15. It is the national language. The people of Pakistan know Urdu; therefore, being a Pakistani I advise my children to speak Urdu.
16. Useful for selling potatoes in the Urdu-speaking areas. The people of this area are frequently going to sell potatoes; it is our business.
17. Useful for our potato business and frequent visits to the Punjab. Useful for reading books, and reading and writing letters. Useful for school.
18. Useful for business in Rawalpindi, Lahore, and Karachi.
19. It is our national language. Useful for business with Pakistanis.
20. It is necessary for the Punjab visits which we often make.

C. What benefit is there for your children to speak Gujuri?

1. Useful for business in Peshmal. In Punjab, I can speak Gujuri with the Gujurs there.
2. It is our local language. It is good for our children to speak Gujuri.
3. It is our local and mother language. We speak Gujuri in our daily routine.
4. It is our mother language. Most of the people speak Gujuri.
5. It is our mother language and a common language. It is recognition of our origin.
6. It is our local and mother language.
7. It is our mother language and the only local source of communication.
8. It is our local language.
9. It is our mother language and the only source of communication in this area.
10. It is the language of our great grand fathers and most of the people speak it.
11. It is our local language. We are always speaking it in the home and in the Peshmal market.
12. It is our mother and local language.
13. It is the language of our fathers and the local language. The children of this area always talk to each other in Gujuri.
14. It is our mother tongue. The people of this area only know Gujuri.
15. Gujuri is the mother tongue of this locality.
16. Ladies inside the home only speak Gujuri so the children speak it first. It is the only local language.
17. It is the only language of this area. It is our mother language.
18. It is spoken throughout this locality. It is our mother language.
19. It is the only source of communication in this area. It is our mother language.
20. Necessary because our local language is Gujuri.

D. Would you want your son to marry a Patan girl? Why or why not?

1. No. The Patans are different from us. They don't like our people.
2. No. It would be difficult for the Patan girl to speak Gujuri in our home.
3. No. The Gujur women would not be able to speak with her or understand the Patan girl. We are trying to marry our son in our own family.
4. No. I prefer my own people to marry my son. It is our family tradition to marry our sons with other Gujuris only.
5. Yes. The Patans are our next-door neighbors so they can come and go easily.
6. Yes. I like Patans and I want to establish a relation with them.
7. Yes. We have to come close to the people of other areas. Our ladies will try to learn Pashto if the Patan girl comes here.
8. Yes. It makes no difference.
9. Yes. To increase the relations between the Patans and Gujurs.
10. Yes. My son is able to speak Pashto.
11. Yes. To increase the relations with people of other areas.
12. Yes. It is good to improve our relations with the people of N.W.F.P..
13. Yes. They are our brothers and a majority of Patans live here in Peshmal.
14. Yes. But only with the Patans living nearby because we have no means of traveling outside.
15. Yes. We are all one people.
16. Yes. In the area above Mingora, intermarriage between Patans and Gujurs is a common thing.
17. No. It will difficult for her to come to this area without knowing Gujuri.
18. Yes. They are our brothers and are living nearby.
19. Yes. For mutual understanding. They are always coming here and we are going there.
20. Yes. I am by birth a Paktoon.

E. Would you want your son to marry an Urdu girl? Why or why not?

1. No. They live very far from here. There work differs from ours.
2. No. Our ladies don't know Urdu (cf. D.2.).
3. Yes. We understand Urdu.
4. No. They live very far from here. They are a different race.
5. No. They have different traditions.
6. Yes. Our ladies understand Urdu.
7. Yes. Urdu is similar to our language.
8. Yes. Useful for building relations with outsiders. When we travel outside we will be able to stay without expenses at their homes.
9. Yes. To build relations with Urdu-speaking people.
10. Yes. To enable our ladies to introduce themselves to the new outsiders.
11. Yes. We must establish relations with outsiders.
12. No. They live very far from here.
13. Yes. Urdu and Gujuri are similar languages.
14. Yes. It is a game of nature.
15. Yes. But I dislike the far distance where Urdu people live.
16. Yes. Urdu and Gujuri are very similar. She would learn Gujuri very easily and get adjusted here easily.
17. Yes. Urdu and Gujuri are similar. It is the game of nature.

18. Yes. To build relations with outsiders.
19. Yes. Urdu and Gujuri are similar.
20. Yes. Urdu and Gujuri are very related.

F. Would you want your daughter to marry a Patan? Why or why not?

1. No. He lives very far and would not attend weddings or funerals.
2. No. My daughter would have to live very far from her house and how would she pass her time with people unrelated to us?
3. No. People would wonder what was wrong with her since she could not be married to a Gujur. We will not change our customs and eating habits.
4. No. People of other areas speak against us in different ways.
5. Yes. We are the people of the same area.
6. (same answer as D.6.)
7. No. Our customs are different. It is difficult to travel so far. It is also against the wishes of our family members.
8. (same answer as D.8.)
9. (same answer as D.9.)
10. (same answer as D.10.)
11. (same answer as D.11.)
12. No. They live very far from here. My father is against it.
13. (same as D.13. Prefers the Patans of this locality.)
14. (same as D.14.)
15. (same as D.15.)
16. (same as D.16. Prefers the Patans of this locality.)
17. No. They are of a different race and area.
18. (same as D.18.)
19. (same as D.19.)
20. Yes.

G. Would you want your daughter to marry an Urdu man? Why or why not?

1. No. They live very far away.
2. No. There are no Urdu boys living nearby. It is a different language.
3. No. We are trying to marry my daughter in our own family.
4. (answer unclear.)
5. No. They live very far away. In our family, ladies do not know Urdu.
6. (same answer as E.6.)
7. Yes. She will be able to speak Urdu easily. Our elders prefer marrying our daughters to an Urdu man in preference to a Patan.
8. (same answer as E.8.)
9. (same answer as E.9.)
10. (same answer as E.10.)
11. (same answer as E.11.)
12. (same answer as E.12.)
13. No. They live very far from here.
14. (same as E.14. A local Gujur man is preferred.)
15. (same as E.15.)
16. Yes. But the man must live near here.
17. No. She would live very far away from here.
18. (same as E.18.)
19. (same as E.19.)

20. No.

H. Do you ever feel embarrassed to be heard speaking Gujuri? If yes, when?

1-20. (All twenty respondents said they never feel embarrassed to be heard speaking Gujuri. The Pashto word "shermidal" was used to express the meaning of "embarrassment".)

I. Do you ever feel proud to be heard speaking Gujuri? If yes, when?

1-20. (All the twenty respondents said they always feel proud to be heard speaking Gujuri.)

J. How many sons do you have? Are you sending each of them to school? Why or why not? (note: If the respondent has no children, we asked him to comment whether he would send any future children to school.)

1. No sons. Yes, I will send any future sons to school. (reason not recorded.)
2. No sons. Yes, I will send any future sons to school because with education anyone can lead a comfortable life.
3. Two. Yes, because in this modern time it is necessary to have education.
4. One daughter. Yes, but I prefer a Queranic education for my children. Useful for them to learn to read and write. With education they can work for the betterment of the area.
5. Six. Yes, I want to send them all to school to learn new things.
6. One. Yes, it is necessary so they can serve this area better and because of the modern times.
7. No children. Yes, I will send any future children to school to develop moral character and our families prestige. He may become a doctor or engineer.
8. No children. Yes, I will send any future children to school to learn good morals.
9. One. Yes, so he will learn how to speak and respect his parents and other people.

10-19. (note: Responses were not obtained from informants 10-19.)

20. Two. No, I need my boys for agricultural work because of poverty.

II. Language Use

A. Which language(-s) do you speak in the home to your:

a. wife
b. son
c. brother
d. neighbor
e. father
f. mother

1.	a. N/A	d. Gj	11.	a. Gj	d. Gj
	b. N/A	e. Gj		b. Gj	e. Gj
	c. Gj	f. Gj		c. Gj	f. Gj
2.	a. N/A	d. Gj	12.	a. Gj	d. Gj
	b. N/A	e. Gj		b. N/A	e. Gj
	c. Gj	f. Gj		c. Gj	f. Gj

3.	a. Gj	d. Gj	13.	a. Gj	d. Gj
	b. Gj	e. Gj		b. N/A	e. Gj
	c. Gj	f. Gj		c. Gj	f. Gj
4.	a. Gj	d. Gj	14.	a. Gj	d. Gj/Psh
	b. Gj	e. Gj		b. Gj	e. Gj
	c. Gj	f. Gj		c. Gj	f. Gj
5.	a. Gj	d. Gj	15.	a. Gj	d. Gj
	b. Gj	e. Gj		b. Gj	e. Gj
	c. Gj	f. Gj		c. Gj	f. Gj
6.	a. N/A	d. Gj	16.	a. Gj	d. Gj
	b. Gj	e. Gj		b. Gj	e. Gj
	c. Gj	f. Gj		c. Gj	f. Gj
7.	a. N/A	d. Gj	17.	a. Gj	d. Gj
	b. Gj	e. Gj		b. Gj	e. Gj
	c. Gj	f. Gj		c. Gj	f. Gj
8.	a. N/A	d. Gj	18.	a. Gj	d. Gj
	b. Gj	e. Gj		b. Gj	e. Gj
	c. Gj	f. Gj		c. Gj	f. Gj
9.	a. Gj	d. Gj	19.	a. Gj	d. Gj
	b. Gj	e. Gj		b. Gj	e. Gj
	c. Gj	f. Gj		c. Gj/Psh	f. Gj
10.	a. Gj	d. Gj/Psh	20.	a. Gj	d. Gj
	b. Gj	e. Gj		b. Gj	e. Gj
	c. Gj	f. Gj		c. Gj	f. Gj

B. What language(-s) do you speak at (the/a):

a. mosque
b. Peshmal bazaar
c. Kalam bazaar
d. Peshmal wedding
e. work

1.	a. Gj/Psh/Ur/Tw/Kl	d. Gj	11.	a. Gj	d. NAR
	b. Gj/Psh	e. Gj		b. Gj/Psh	e. Psh/Ur
	c. Psh/Kl			c. Kl	
2.	a. Gj	d. Gj/Psh	12.	a. Gj	d. Gu
	b. Gj/Psh	e. Gj		b. Gj	e. NAR
	c. Psh			c. Gj	
3.	a. Gj	d. Gj	13.	a. Gj	d. Kl/Psh/Gj
	b. Gj/Psh	e. Psh		b. Gj/Psh	e. Psh/Ur
	c. Psh			c. Kl	
4.	a. Gj/Psh	d. Gj	14.	a. Gj/Psh	d. NAR
	b. Gj	e. Psh/Ur		b. Gj/Psh	e. Ur/Psh
	c. Kl/Gj			c. Psh/Kl	
5.	a. Gj/Psh	d. Gj/Psh/Pj	15.	a. Gj/Psh	d. Psh/Gj

b. Psh/GJ
c. Psh
e. NAR

6. a. GJ
b. GJ/Psh
c. Kl
d. Kl/Tw/Psh
e. Psh/GJ/Ur

7. a. GJ
b. GJ
c. Kl/Psh
d. GJ
e. NAR

8. a. GJ/Psh
b. GJ/Psh
c. Kl/Psh
d. GJ
e. NAR

9. a. GJ/Psh
b. GJ/Psh
c. Psh
d. GJ
e. Psh/Ur

10. a. GJ
b. Psh/GJ
c. Kl
d. Psh/GJ
e. NAR

b. GJ
c. Kl/Psh
e. Psh/Ur

16. a. GJ
b. GJ
c. Kl/Psh
d. GJ/Psh
e. GJ

17. a. GJ
b. Psh/GJ
c. Psh
d. Psh/GJ
e. GJ

18. a. GJ
b. GJ/Psh
c. Kl
d. GJ
e. GJ

19. a. GJ
b. GJ
c. Kl
d. NAR
e. Psh/Tw/Kl

20. a. GJ
b. Psh/GJ
c. Kl
d. Psh/GJ/
Kl/Tw
e. GJ

C. When your children (or Gujur children you know) are playing with non-Gujur children, what language are they speaking?

1. GJ
2. GJ
3. GJ
4. Psh
5. GJ/Psh
6. Psh/Kl
7. Psh/GJ
8. Psh/GJ
9. Psh
10. Psh/GJ
11. NAR
12. NAR
13. Psh/GJ
14. Psh/GJ
15. Psh
16. Psh/Kl
17. Psh/GJ
18. Psh/Kl
19. Psh/Kl
20. Psh